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ABSTRACT

Because a growing proportion of the world's working population is in the informal sector (in work areas generally outside the sphere of state protection), planners of vocational training for adults must pay closer attention to those concepts of teaching and learning that have relevance for the informal sector, and they must develop strategies for building bridges between various existing forms of formal and informal education and training. The following areas must receive special attention: vocational competencies in the informal sector; the relationship between learners' mother tongue and the language in which they learn basic educational skills; diversification of technical and vocational education; government and nonformal education; motivation for initiative and action; traditional apprenticeship and informal learning; the practice of securing a livelihood by unifying household and enterprise; adult learning in the context of self-help organizations; and strategies for integrating social networks into educational programs. Vocational-technical education and training programs for adults should be emancipatory, based on a combination of traditional and informal methods of acquiring vocational competence, and designed to help individuals and groups from the informal sector become aware of their existing competencies and put those competencies to use in their daily routines. (Contains 16 references) (MN)

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A contribution to CONFINTEA V (Hamburg, July 14 - 18, 1997)

Theme 5: Adult learning in a changing world of work

Adult Learning and Vocational Training in the Informal Sector in Developing Countries

Committee on "Educational Research in Cooperation with Third World Countries"

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Introduction

CONFINTEA V is concerned with the many different facets of adult education today and offers the various organizations supporting it a forum for cooperation and coordination. It thus provides those involved in carrying out adult education an opportunity to jointly look for useful routes into the 21st century.

The title of Theme No. 5 "Adult learning in a changing world of work" already suggests that structures and processes in which work and employment take place today are in a stage of change around the world. It can be observed that a growing proportion of the world's working population is in the informal sector, i.e. in work areas generally outside the sphere of state protection. This trend is further reinforced by the increasing globalization of the economy and a simultaneous dismantling of state responsibility, resulting from neo-liberal policies. Today there are already more than one thousand million people around the world who are excluded from formal working processes.

Two-thirds of all those employed informally are women. Within the informal sector their work is concentrated in less lucrative occupations, mostly in commerce and in the service sector. They have almost no access to training programmes that impart skills for areas of employment with opportunities for development and extension, and are often reduced to their traditional roles. This laying down of gender roles and the traditional division into "male" and "female" professions means that women repeatedly experience discrimination and marginalization. When collecting data and determining educational needs in the informal sector it is therefore necessary to consider the special situation of women.

Since the informal sector is gaining in importance in the northern industrial nations and the nations in the South have many years' experience in this area, the question arises as to whether the North can learn from the experience of the South.

The concepts of teaching and learning that have relevance for the informal sector must be subjected to closer scrutiny if adult education is to take account of the altered working processes and the people involved in them. It must ask itself how a dignified life can be made possible outside the formal conditions of employment and which educational strategies – both informal and formal[1] – are conducive to this aim (What, why and how is learning to take place?). This call is addressed directly to all the disciplines of educational science, and in particular to adult education.

If one looks at the educational requirements of those employed in the informal sector and the educational measures that seek to satisfy these needs, it can be seen that a large proportion of those employed tend to be reached by non-formal rather than formal training schemes.

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[1] **formal education**: learning processes that take place in the institutions of the formal school system in the various levels of school and in the formal vocational training centres; **non-formal education**: learning processes that are carried out independently or organized as part of a wide spectrum of educational activity outside of the formal system, which are directed towards identifiable target groups and towards the attainment of particular learning objectives; **informal education:** learning processes that are not planned, where learning process and socialization overlap.

Vocational training and job-specific competencies are thus acquired to a considerable extent outside of state schemes. Crucial significance can therefore be attached to the traditional forms of training and non-formal programmes. One of the main tasks of adult education in the 21st century should be to recognize this, to develop successful educational strategies further, and to become involved in bridge-building between the various existing forms of education and training.

This contribution to CONFINTEA V deals with various problem areas of adult education in the informal sector. Some approaches to solving these problems are discussed and – where possible – bridging functions between formal and non-formal education and training are pointed out.

The following problem areas are dealt with explicitly:

1. Vocational competencies in the informal sector (pages 3 - 4)
2. Relationship of mother tongue to language of communication in the learning of basic educational skills (pages 5 - 6)
3. Diversification of technical and vocational education (pages 7 - 8)
4. Government and non-formal education (pages 9 - 10)
5. Motivation for initiative and action (pages 11 - 12)
6. Traditional apprenticeship and informal learning (pages 13 - 14)
7. Securing a livelihood by unifying household and enterprise (pages 15 - 16)
8. Adult learning in the context of self-help organizations (pages 17 - 18)
9. Integrating social networks into educational programmes (pages 19 - 20)

Each individual chapter begins with a summary of the content and names contact persons as representatives for each of the topics and problem areas. These people can be reached via the following central contact address:
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The results arising from the explanations and the discussion in our own working group are summarized in the last two pages of this paper in the form of a list of consequences and recommendations.

Problem area 1: Vocational competencies in the informal sector

In this section some fundamental considerations are formulated on the general conditions, methods and contents of educational measures in the informal sector. These considerations are based on the fact that although today the majority of people tend to acquire the competencies essential for a particular occupation outside of the school system, the situation of these specific groups is largely ignored when designing learning programmes.

For people in the informal sector, informal learning is characterized by its lack of structure, the absence of an underlying curriculum and the fact that no particular time is set aside for learning. Learning takes place within the family and the neighbourhood, on the street or as a "helping member of the family" in working processes. Here learning processes and socialization overlap. Learning mainly comes about by children or young people being given tasks to do along with a few instructions on how they are to be carried out. Learning thus takes place primarily "by doing", i.e. on the one hand by active acquisition - rather than receptive learning - and on the other hand through the learners' own experience, by trial and error, generally without any reference to theory. A basic education is usually only present in fragments.

- Unlike formal learning situations, in which to a certain extent standardized curricula are offered, the learning situation in the informal sector proceeds **from the specific,** and in each case from different **working and living situations of the concerned group**. The members of this group cannot respond to offers of training unless they can be integrated into their daily routine. This means that the learning habits of the group in question must be made the starting point for the development of teaching and learning strategies.

- As a consequence a **person-centred learning concept** has to be established in which the interests of the learners and their opportunities for active acquisition of a particular set of skills occupies the centre stage. This orientation is also important because the structuring of learning processes appropriate to the situation cannot be achieved in any other way.

- An appropriate teaching and learning concept can only be achieved through active involvement of the concerned group, i.e. through extensive **participation**. For, those groups are themselves best placed to formulate their needs and to define the limits of their possibilities.

- Appropriate approaches therefore have to be designed differently according to the situation and for each **specific group - particularly for women**. A shift in values is therefore required away from extensive system concepts, more towards a small-scale orientation.

- In preparing educational programmes it should be borne in mind that the **basic education in its present form is often full of shortcomings**. For this reason it is necessary to examine in what way and in what form elements of a general basic education can be remedied. Apart from teaching literacy in the mother tongue this remedial help also includes acquiring one of the languages of global communication.

- The **content of learning** should be designed so as to be mainly **practical** and in **part productive**, since these specific groups have to earn money and apply what they have learnt immediately. A combination of measures is therefore required that will have an impact on employment in the short and long term.

- The service concerned or the product manufactured must be marketable so that the participants can survive economically. However, in order to exist in the market, the participants must at least have a rudimentary **knowledge of business management**.

- Skills such as crafts and technical ability on the one hand and business management on the other develop from a set of **general skills** – such as communicative and organizational ability, curiosity, creativity and perserverence. This means that without the latter, it is difficult to successfully implement the former. For this reason the training offered should not be limited to instrumental skills, but must extend beyond this and include more broadly based components. These courses should encourage and support the members of the concerned group, strengthen their general competencies and thus develop their personalities step by step.

- When selecting areas of training, it is necessary to react flexibly to the constantly changing **market situation**, so that the participants are able to obtain an income with what they have learnt. This is yet another reason why curricula **can only be planned to a limited extent**. They should concentrate more on specific stimuli rather than aim at results that are impressive in the long term.

- The effectiveness of learning programmes should benefit from their being strongly incorporated into the work of **social movements** and that of **self-help organizations** of small enterprises and micro-enterprises. Isolated learning processes can easily remain ineffective.

- In principle the **tension between an economic and a pedagogical orientation** remains. If the economic interest dominates, too little will be learnt; if the learning interest dominates, the orientation towards economic success will receive too little attention. It is therefore necessary to carefully balance the learning interest of the target group against the interest in economic success.

- Learning processes that have an impact on employment in the informal sector are more attractive for many of the addressees if they refer to or are combined with formal learning processes. On the one hand this means liberating learning processes outside of the school system from the stigma of reduced significance and, on the other hand, opening up formal learning situations for groups in the informal sector to a greater extent than before. **Bridges** should be built between these two areas, i.e. learning processes outside of the school system should in some cases be subject to certification, so as to give greater mobility to those entitled to them.

Contact person: Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Karcher

Problem area 2: The relationship of mother tongue to the language of communication in basic education

This contribution concentrates on an important aspect related to the teaching and learning content that has hitherto received very little attention in educational and training measures: many people are excluded from decisive discourses by the fact that they are restricted to their mother tongue. In order to overcome this problem, an emancipatory system of adult education must provide offers of training that also enable people in the informal sector to acquire practically oriented skills in a (global) language of communication as well as in their mother tongue.

Basic mother-tongue tuition in primary schools and upgrading of mother tongue skills in regional and national communication are crucial and hence indispensable political and pedagogical requirements. The mother tongue provides the link between the first important learning phase (family or intimate learning phase) in a person's life and the second learning phase (basic education phase[1]).

In many multilingual countries people that only have a knowledge of "their" minority language are at a disadvantage and may even suffer discrimination. Basic education should therefore complement instruction in the mother tongue with competencies in one of the global languages of communication. This will positively promote access to social resources, to avenues of further education and to social influence.

In the educational reality of many countries in the South and also increasingly for foreigners in European schools, a large number of people are becoming aware of a discrepancy between the insufficient quantity of instruction in the mother tongue and communication in the language that dominates in the relevant political, economic and cultural areas. Due to this discrepancy, early childhood learning potential and cultural self-confidence, which is mainly acquired in the family surroundings, is being negated or devalued. Many people in the informal sector are at a disadvantage in terms of their self-confidence and communication skills and suffer discrimination. If they then enter the field of cheap labour or the informal sector as "drop outs", then the discrepancy between the dominant languages and the person's "own" language resurfaces.

Communication in the broader area of a "global" market and many areas of communication and information sources crucial to the market are based on global languages of communication, of which English appears to be establishing itself as the most important. Securing an economic existence therefore calls for practically oriented knowledge in a language of communication (e.g. tourism, relationships to foreign investors or "donors", acquisition of information). By being restricted to their mother tongue, people either remain outside these important areas of communication or need expensive language go-betweens.

The need for tuition in the mother tongue thus has to be linked with the that for early training, in the most appropriate didactic form, in at least one language of communication - which should, if possible, be of global importance. If this is not

1 According to the UNESCO standards, basic education includes: reading, writing, arithmetic, life skills, knowledge of one's own rights and duties as a citizen.

made possible in primary school, the acquisition of such basic competencies then becomes one of the essential learning objectives of an emancipatory adult education system for all. The didactics and methodology of imparting language skills in a global language of communication must be directed towards the potential uses for the learners. The learners should be able to immediately experience the applicability of the newly acquired language skills. The development of simple (reduced) language units that are directed towards the potential uses - but which must not be "primitive" - requires cooperation in international research. It must analyse the respective learning prerequisites and conditions of the users as well as the possible situations where the language will be put to use. New didactics and methods have to be developed that give equal consideration to the everyday use of the language of communication and the learning conditions outside of the school system.

The use of old and new media should be incorporated into this learning process. Here research must concentrate on the difference between oral and written communication, which require entirely different skills and learning methods.

In Zimbabwe, for instance, the independently organized Association of Zimbabwe Women Writers has been performing exemplary work in imparting language skills in the form of workshops, conversation groups and opportunities for publication. This approach is also interesting in that it takes equal account of the further development of expressive skills in the mother tongue as well as oral and written communication.

Contact person: Prof.Dr. Gottfried Mergner

Problem area 3: Diversification of technical and vocational education

In order to cover the entire breadth of education and training requirements of those marginalized in the informal sector, this contribution pleads for fair competition in the field of technical/vocational education between the public, non-governmental and private suppliers. The introduction of minimum standards should help to guarantee a certain level of education.

In most countries, the systems of technical and vocational education of adults are geared to the formal economy, although the majority of the working population have to make their living in the informal sector, in small and micro-enterprises or different modes of self-employment. In other words: the majority of the working population is neglected by adult education systems. Therefore, the existing systems and institutions of adult education and training must be diversified and opened for the people in the above target group. Various approaches of co-operative or dual systems, internships and job shadowing should be implemented not only with formal industry, but also with small and micro-enterprises.

Economic growth and rationalization do not automatically result in growth of employment in the formal economy. Focusing adult education on formal employment is no longer justified. The new approach to adult education and training must help bridge the gap between demand and supply of employment. However: "There is no job; be self-employed" is no sufficient answer. Education alone does not help. Education and training must be combined with opportunities to gain work experience. Whenever possible, technical/vocational courses should be combined with support for business starters, with loan programmes, with "enterprise shelters".

The state alone is not capable of catering for the technical and economic variety of education and training needs. Therefore policy and legislation should open the adult and technical/vocational education market for a fair competition of private, non-governmental and public suppliers. Private suppliers of adult education and training include small production and service enterprises, training for profit institutions and non-profit institutions. For this large variety of education and training suppliers, minimum standards should be set up. However, a new overwhelming and paralysing bureaucracy should be avoided. Usually the small and micro enterprises can provide training which is closely linked to the market. In addition, the participants from the informal sector themselves know their needs better than civil servants in formal institutions. Therefore a market driven system which allows the "consumer" of education and training to choose between various courses offered by competing suppliers might be geared more closely to the world of work than might an exclusively public education and training system.

Technical and vocational education cannot be regarded as skill training only. Technical and vocational competence contributes directly to self-confidence and personal empowerment. The personal experience to "master" the production of goods and services might be more effective towards self-confidence than social and communicative adult education alone. Both - technical/vocational contents and social/communicative contents and methods should be combined.

Technical education and training should reflect the widening technological gap between the formal and the informal economy, and they should cater for both. In other words: simple and appropriate technologies should be fully integrated in adult education and training contents. Adult education should contribute to strengthening the bargaining power of employed and self-employed persons. It should support their motivation to build small and micro entrepreneurs' associations, trade unions etc. Courses for small and micro entrepreneurs and potential business starters should include not only technical and economic subjects, but also information and reflection on social and ecological standards. Globalization results in worldwide competition and worldwide information and entertainment systems. Adult education should provide worldwide information on economic, social and ecological conditions of labour.

Curricula overloaded with teaching/learning goals have not proved to be supportive. Instead curricula should be oriented to work tasks which describe products and services to be produced. This new method allows for the integration of theoretical and practical learning. It gives priority to hands-on experience rather than purely academic learning.

The methods of adult education and training for the world of work will resemble much more those learning modes which include learning from each other rather than from teacher alone, learning by doing, learning from personal exchange and debate, in a flexible, informal environment rather than in classroom only, learning by problem solving rather than by notes.

Contact person: Prof. Dr. Ulrich Boehm

Problem area 4: Government and non-formal education

As it becomes increasingly clear that the formal education systems do not reach large parts of the population in many countries, even government departments are now starting to take more and more interest in non-formal measures of education and training and the planning of such measures. In dealing with this sub-aspect, an attempt is made to work out a balance between governmental responsibility and governmental influence in the field of non-formal education and training.

Government departments have an increasing interest in non-formal education, which has traditionally been initiated and organized mainly by non-governmental and voluntary organizations. This is connected to the fact that, according to statements made by these organizations, higher results are recorded than in formal education (e.g. regular participation of the learners and teachers, large numbers of successful participants, low "drop-out" quotas). In addition, non-formal education is regarded as more effective, particularly in terms of its accessibility and participation (in the sense of co-determination by the target group), a fact that is usually also acknowledged by government departments. Furthermore, it is obvious that non-formal training schemes are substantially less expensive than their counterparts (if available) in the formal sector. In the context of "Education for All" non-formal educational programmes thus take on crucial significance if efforts that are in any way realistic or honest are made to implement the catalogue of objectives passed in Jomtien in 1990. Particular attention should be directed towards the formation of bridges between the acquisition of effective vocational competencies and general education. The adoption of non-formal educational concepts into the formal system is not desired, since this would inevitably be associated with a reform of centralized educational administration and organization. For this reason thoughts in government departments are turning towards "deformalizing" the formal education system by integrating those components of non-formal education that are innovative and attractive as segments of formal education and training schemes. In addition, non-formal education is increasingly seen as assisting education in regions where government departments are unable to reach the concerned groups through formal education measures.

The foundations for non-formal education schemes and their successes are participation, in the sense of continuous co-determination, and the decentralization in planning, developing, implementing and evaluating the schemes. Furthermore, they are also based on a more flexible design than formal measures and allow for innovation in terms of socio-political changes.

The strengths of non-formal education schemes lie in their organizational form. These schemes strive to carry out education at grassroots level, from the grassroots level and with the aid of people who are familiar with this grassroots level. In contrast, formal education is based on the principle of from 'the top downwards'. The concepts of non-formal education strive towards relevance to the learners, with both teachers and learners intended to fulfil teaching and learning functions. Formal educational programmes are designed with an object-oriented pedagogical basis. Even if "learner-oriented concepts" are employed, there is no escaping from the bipolar teaching/learning relationship, in which the teacher role remains in the centre as the decisive factor. The subject matter that is imparted and the strengthening of

community feeling in non-formal educational programmes facilitates the questioning of socio-economic realities and socio-political conditions and structures. Motivation can thus be generated towards measures directed at change and these can also be implemented with the aid of the community.

Every government has the duty towards its population to organize educational programmes that enable the people to attain a basic education in order to render them 'intellectually viable'. An increasing withdrawal of the state from this responsibility or the continuing failure to realize this duty violates the state's protective contract towards its citizens and its duty to provide education as a basic human right. So as not to release the state from its duty, it is imperative that bridges be formed between formal and non-formal education. However, this is extremely difficult as long as nothing changes in the reasons for the necessity of non-formal educational programmes and the innovative potential of these is not to be completely distorted. Segmented adoption of some aspects of non-formal ideas promise little if the underlying social and educational policies are not subjected to a process of questioning and reform. Furthermore, there is a danger that adopting non-formal education in this way would rob it of its foundation. Hence the entire framework in which non-formal educational programmes are incorporated and which includes changes in social and educational policy as a genuine component will be taken to absurd lengths.

The demand for placing both systems on an equal footing would be conceivable for a limited period, so as not to eliminate one of the two approaches from the very beginning. This would mean directing the same financial guarantee to non-formal educational programmes as is directed towards formal education. However, in this process the state influence on the administration and subject matter would have to be omitted to as large an extent as possible. In the long term three different developments are conceivable: the formal educational system dominates non-formal education; both systems survive with equal standing, with exchange and interaction taking place between the two on theoretical and practical matters; or the two systems form something new in the sense of a synthesis.

Contact person: Gregor Wojtasik

Problem area 5: Motivation for initiative and action

Work is not only a means for people to obtain their livelihood, but it also provides them with the scope to realize their creative potential. If this is not possible, they often develop an attitude of resignation, which leads to them lacking in their own initiative. To counteract this effect, there is a need to design long-term programmes of adult education in the informal sector aimed at encouraging the creativity and individual initiative of persons and groups and at helping them to become aware of their own personal abilities.

There are a wide variety of reasons for adults to work: work enables people to obtain an income with which they can support themselves and their families. A person may be able to realize his or her creative potential through work. In every form of work - be it technical, a handicraft, social work or educational work - under certain conditions people are able to develop their own ideas and actions and put them into practice.

Often, however, people do not have the opportunity to realize their potential through work: they may perhaps be unemployed or may have conditions of employment that do not allow them to introduce their own creative potential. In this situation many people become resigned to their fate. They believe that this is a result of their own inability to think and act creatively. Consequently, they often tend to develop a fatalistic attitude and no longer make any attempts to alter their situation.

The informal sector can offer adults the space to develop personal competence, talents and skills and to employ them in such a way that they have an impact on their employment, while at the same time indulging in their interests and developing self-confidence. Furthermore, in the informal sector there is also the possibility of using the traditional skills and forms of education and training that have been handed down through the generations. Training programmes in the informal sector can thus help adults in becoming aware of their available potential. Specific offers of training can increase their competencies. This experience enables adults to gain a more positive attitude to their personal abilities. With this awareness adults often become motivated to seize the initiative themselves. Offers of adult education in the informal sector therefore have to take the participants' own knowledge and experience as their starting point.

The process of becoming aware of one's personal abilities takes place in two phases. At first, in many adults, an **attitude of personal incompetence and inferiority** prevails. They see this as the reason for their being disadvantaged at work. Often they make no attempts to change their situation.

In the first phase then adults **take part in educational programmes in the informal sector**. There they have the **opportunity to become aware of their creative potential**, to actively employ it and, in doing so, also to change their situation gradually. They learn that they are not incompetent "by nature", but that other factors have hitherto prevented them from bringing this potential into the working process. They **start to realize that there is an inconsistency** with the view of personal incompetence that they have experienced and learnt up until then.

In the second phase they learn to **become aware of their personal abilities** and thus to gradually **overcome** these **inconsistencies**. They become active themselves. This then changes their attitude: They can also use their potential to advantage in other fields, seize initiative and make an effort to improve their own working and living conditions. To further increase the opportunities open to them, adults are then often motivated to take part in general programmes of basic and further education, such as adult literacy.

In order to change this attitude of personal incompetence in adults that develops and becomes firmly embedded over many years, programmes of education and training have to be designed with a long-term perspective. Practical experience of being able to influence certain everyday situations through one's own initiative and creativity are required before adults can develop an awareness of their own personal abilities and opportunities. This awareness is an important step towards personal emancipation.

The prospects of adult education in the informal sector may be seen as promoting the existing potential of adults as well as enabling them to gain experience of their own creativity and initiative so that they become sufficiently motivated to influence their own working and living conditions.

Contact person: Dr. Christiane Hopfer

Problem area 6: Traditional apprenticeship and informal learning

A large proportion of the young adults that work in the informal sector receive their vocational training within the framework of traditional education. These forms of acquiring vocational skills are discussed here under the concept of informal apprenticeship. In these kinds of learning processes, which are linked to the production process and take place in small enterprises, basic knowledge is passed down from the "master" to the apprentice. Traditional and informal forms of acquiring vocational competence have to be integrated into the design of training measures for the informal sector.

The existence of traditional forms of education and training in some west African countries has been well known for a long time, though detailed knowledge has only been internationally available for a short time. Hundreds of thousands of young people are trained exclusively at their own cost or with financial contributions from their parents. Official channels usually play no role in this process. Investigations in some large west African towns show that the training structures for these traditional apprenticeships, which are mainly concerned with the trades and crafts, are fundamentally the same. Basic knowledge in weaving, carpentry or vehicle repair are passed on from the "master" to the apprentice. One important aspect for the employment prospects of the trainee then is the fact that the skills taught are not purely technical. Apprentices are often specifically entrusted with management or organizational duties, such as conducting negotiations with customers or determining product prices.

Apprenticeships in the trade and crafts professions - in view of the rising unemployment figures this is a fact that is also receiving less and less attention in Germany, too - are very often associated with exploitation of the trainee as a source of cheap labour. This ambivalence, exploitation on the one hand but learning on the other, is also seen in an analysis of the situation in Kenya (A. Ferej, Turin 1996). At the same time it is stressed that this very condition and the apprenticeship fees to be paid are particularly important for the "master's" motivation to train. Other important motives that are cited include relatives, friendships and philanthropic attitudes.

There is also a traditional form of vocational training in many Latin American countries, which in this context is termed informal apprenticeship since it involves more than mere teaching. The term informal apprenticeship links two almost contrasting components, between which some tension exists. "Apprenticeship" is used here to mean a planned, but at least coarsely structured process of learning. Learning processes are then always informal if they are not planned. Within the informal apprenticeship distributed through small enterprises, training processes take place that are not planned as such. Nevertheless, there are differences in how clearly the extent of structuring in these processes can be seen. The requirements of production or the provision of a service within the enterprises concerned are the elements that shape this structure. Many small enterprises act to a greater or lesser degree as a kind of socialization authority for the young people working there. The learning processes associated with this function are in turn largely described as informal.

Considerably more young people acquire vocational competence through informal apprenticeship than would be possible through the framework of projects and programmes organized by governmental or non-governmental organizations. Even if the political will existed on the part of the decision-makers, educational measures with a comparable effect would be almost impossible to finance. The forms of vocational training in the informal apprenticeship are often more relevant to employment efficacy than many other training programmes. In addition, the structures within which training takes place already exist; they do not have to undergo the difficult and costly process of being set up. Apart from these advantages offered by competence acquisition as part of an informal apprenticeship, there is no concealing the fact that many apprentices suffer under extremely bad working conditions. When apprentices are incorporated into non-formal training programmes, this ambivalence has to be taken into account and ways sought to alter the situation.

The informal and traditional apprenticeship of some African countries fits into the social structures of the small enterprises sphere. Young people are integrated into daily working life at an early stage and learning then takes place through imitation and identification. Monitoring of the learning progress is carried out in the small enterprise. The direct link to production and to sales ensures that there are self-regulating mechanisms: the skills that are necessary for the local market are taught in these enterprises. However, often only the simplest skills are learnt and the working methods are often not directed at good product quality, an innovative design or at services which genuinely satisfy the customers. The immediate surroundings of these enterprises, however, often mean that this is not necessary since the purchasing power and hence also the demands placed on a product or a service are low.

Consequently, an improvement in the informal apprenticeship for small enterprises should be organized non-formally, with as many of the target group as possible having actively exerted an influence on the training measure offered. Due to the differing nature of the production conditions, offers of formal training for informal small enterprises are frequently inappropriate. To make such approaches more effective, it would be useful to link vocational training with the promotion of small enterprises. Here it is important to include the owners of small enterprises in the educational process. In the planning phase, the fundamental problem of the existing structural tension between the learning orientation amongst the young adults and the profit orientation in the small enterprises must be carefully balanced. For instance, serial production that brings profit but teaches the apprentices few skills cannot be the goal of a training measure. Hence the danger exists that either training misses the market or that by hastily neglecting a broad basis of training, there is no lasting integration into production.

The fact that the informal and traditional apprenticeship is widely restricted to men is another problem. Extending this field of activity to women appears to be both possible and wise. However, it can be assumed that women will have to overcome considerable resistance in male-dominated areas of work.

Contact person: Dr. Bernd Overwien

Problem area 7: Securing a livelihood by unifying household and enterprise

From a business management viewpoint, the social and economic unity of household and enterprise is an essential prerequisite for securing the livelihood of small enterprises in the informal sector. Various measures can be introduced via the household to balance great fluctuations in turnover. In designing promotion schemes and educational measures in the informal sector, this unity of household and enterprise must be recognized and supported by specifically teaching the basics of business management.

A number of success factors contribute to securing the long-term livelihood of small businesses in the informal sector. These include a wide range of measures with which attempts are made to guarantee survival, despite the constantly changing general external conditions. To cover the cost of living and guarantee the survival of the enterprise, profits have to be generated in the long term. However, this can only be achieved on the basis of an effective demand in the market. The particular dynamics of the market economy and extreme fluctuations in orders mean that profits can only be made on a lasting basis if the small enterprise succeeds in flexibly adapting to the changing market conditions. *Flexibility* is the crucial success factor for securing a livelihood in the informal sector. Externally, it is particularly important to adapt enterprise services to market requirements. First of all, this includes observing the market on a permanent basis, discovering market niches and diversifying the range of products and services accordingly.

However, there is little action the individual can take to influence seasonal fluctuations in orders. Consequently there is a need for internal flexibility, which means organizing the enterprise in such a way that temporary losses in orders do not endanger its existence. Investigations of the internal structure of informal small enterprises reveal that the enterprise and the private household of the owners form an economic and social unit. This may be considered as one of the most important characteristics of the informal sector. One of the first obvious features is the social unity, which often results from the fact that home and enterprise often border on one another. This then enables several members of the family to carry out both those tasks associated with the family and those that are linked to the enterprise. The physical proximity also favours economic interlinking. This manifests itself by the fact that all enterprise and private income and expenditure pass through a *common account*. This is often criticized in development policy practice, yet there are considerable advantages to such a method of operating. It enables the following three measures to be combined: 1. generation of additional income, 2. accumulation of savings and 3. adaptation of the standard of living to the overall economic situation. Economic unity therefore forms a crucial basic requirement for securing a livelihood.

The household is able to compensate for fluctuations in profit on the enterprise side and thus takes on a "buffer function". Private household management therefore plays an important role in securing both the family's livelihood and the survival of the enterprise. The generation of additional income may be regarded as an important factor. Many families are forced into part-time occupations, as this is the way to compensate for fluctuations in the business of the enterprise caused by market factors. Here a fundamental distinction has to be made between two variants: the

first being when the owner of the enterprise takes on part-time employment and the second when the spouse is engaged in gainful employment. To summarize, it may be said that there are definitely many possible sources of income in addition to that coming from the enterprise itself. However, additional income cannot be generated in every household since in some cases this option is ruled out by the requirements of the enterprise and the need to look after children.

The accumulation of savings is also extremely important for guaranteeing survival. Given the existing living conditions, this is very difficult for people in the informal sector. However, it is absolutely necessary in order to guarantee the family's survival through bad phases. If one considers fluctuations in profit alone, in bad times the income of the enterprise barely suffices to cover the production of goods and services or the family's maintenance costs. In good periods it is often definitely possible to generate surpluses so that savings and reserves for future expenditure can be put to one side. However, these surpluses do not remain in the enterprise, but are fed entirely into the common account of household and enterprise. Savings are achieved above all by cuts in consumption.

Another essential requirement for survival in the informal sector is people's ability to adapt their standard of living to the prevailing economic situation. Hence, if reserves for maintaining the enterprise through periods of weak economic activity are not sufficient, the standard of living can be reduced to a minimum as an additional emergency measure. In these cases, apart from cutting out private purchases, food and personal mobility are also significantly reduced. This results in considerable deterioration of the family's living conditions.

If attempts are made to assess the economic unity between household and enterprise, it can be seen first of all that there is a conscious mixing of private and company assets. This is a matter of necessity since the liquidity of the enterprise alone is generally not sufficient to permanently guarantee its existence. The overall limited availability of capital in the informal sector forces small enterprises to take a very flexible approach to handling their financial resources. Only by introducing the household resources does it become possible to cover the running financial obligations and hence secure the livelihood of enterprise and family.

Contact person: Gunnar Specht

Problem area 8: Adult learning in the context of self-help organizations

Characteristics of economic activities in the informal sector include the lack of access to capital, infrastructure and public services. Viewed against this background, self-help organizations and cooperative forms of production take on a significant role. By pooling resources, e.g. in credit societies, opportunities arise for improving the economic situation. Educational programmes should make use of these local capacities, which in some cases are long-established forms of passing on skills. They should be strengthened, and participation in them should be encouraged.

The actors in the informal economy lack "formal entitlements" relating to capital, infrastructure and public services. The search for social security of all kinds is of utmost priority compared to the goal of maximisation of profits. Survival is possible through several strategies such as sinking production costs and capital investments. In addition to these strategies which keep the enterprise in existence at all costs, "informal entitlements", such as traditional and new social networks (family, friendship groups, neighbourhood) and co-operative forms of production are important social capital.

In contrast to the formal sector where the state and industry subsidise massively those preparing for employment, it is the family or household, as well as the community which are of central importance for securing basic survival needs in the informal sector. Micro-enterprises and associations of micro-enterprises in the informal sector have a similar relevance as the family, making it possible for a multitude of young people to secure a livelihood outside the traditional rural economy.

Associations of micro-enterprises comprise of individuals who have come together because of their common interests to pursue economic and socio-political goals on a lasting basis. Generally speaking, self-help organizations will be established when the prospective members can expect that the advantage they can obtain from the co-operation is at least as great as the advantage they can derive from alternative institutions (the market, government and non-governmental development agencies).

Following basic types of organizations of micro-enterprises may be identified in the informal sector:
1. occupational groups who jointly organize production,
2. relatively formal and traditional artisan trade associations,
3. credit societies.

Co-operative structures that jointly organize production can improve their economic position through access to markets, expansion of market opportunities, sinking transaction costs by enlarging their clientele, improving product quality by pooling know-how and knowledge, increasing the investment in capital goods through co-operation in a credit society, promoting social security by establishing and strengthening social ties.
Formal trade associations which exist within an informal settlement are mainly responsible for price-fixing, for the garbage disposal and aspects such as tax payment. Other functions are easing seasonal price fluctuations by setting up storing facilities, preventing reclamation of goods by controlling standards for weights and

measures, and introducing innovative production methods. They can be innovative through specialisation made possible through a division of labour. Artisans generally find formal associations less efficient than self-help production groups. It is very difficult for formal associations to implement sanctions against those who break rules against price-fixing arrangements.

Adult education in the context of self-help organizations calls for a new definition of learning. Learning is not only generated in the process of production, whose limit is often reached very quickly. It also arises from other external mechanisms such as learning by negotiating, particularly in searching for openings, and enlarging markets. In this regard the organization of small scale producers is one of the most significant sources of learning.

Education for strengthening bargaining power should be based on a comprehensive approach to learning. Educational effort is thus regarded as a process both of becoming aware of the potential of a group to resolve problems that it has analysed itself and acquiring skills that are needed to implement solutions.

The programme of adult education should depart from conventional project design in which training is planned and developed externally and then transmitted to the participants. It should instead be based on local capacities and long-established modes of skill transmission. Without a thorough analysis of local circumstances and adaptation as necessary and appropriate, the super-imposition of foreign training methods and curricula is likely to be counter-productive as well as costly. Actually the transmission and assimilation of skills are usually subject to socio-cultural mechanisms in the workplace, for example between master and apprentices; outside interventions must therefore be negotiated with the local context. As regards teaching and learning strategies teachers and instructors must take on the role of moderators of self-learning.

The goal of promoting adult education should be oriented to the promotion of income and employment security of individuals that are influenced by negative factors at international, national, regional and local levels. Adult education should be concerned with strengthening existing structures of social security through strengthening the participation of persons in their communities, through associations, self-help groups and credit societies.

Contact person: Dr. Madhu Singh

Problem area 9: Integrating social networks into educational programmes

A wide variety of survival strategies are linked to economic activities in the informal sector, which extend beyond mergers into production cooperatives. Networks of communication and action develop, which via analysis of and consideration of the existing political and economic structures result in independent designs and action strategies. The inclusion of these networks, which contain competent partners for the planning and development of educational measures, is an essential factor for the successful implementation of educational and training projects in the informal sector.

The increasing globalization of the economy and the loss of government influence have brought about fundamental changes in the structures and conditions of employment relations. The role of governments as regulators of the economy is becoming more and more restricted. A rise in employment relations without any legally based protection can be observed around the world. One major consequence of these developments is the inability of governments to fulfil the most elementary needs of all individuals within a society.

Neither can the growth of the informal sector be viewed without reference to these global economic structures. To a considerable extent the expansion of this sector is linked to misguided economic and employment policy. These structures thus co-determine the shaping of social spaces and perspectives in life, since the chances of securing a livelihood through paid work and thus shaping one's own future have disappeared for a large number of people. The realization that the formal sector can no longer do justice to the demand for education, jobs and employment and that the survival of more and more people depends on jobs in the informal sector has also resulted in a change of direction within "development cooperation". Measures for promoting vocational training, the trades and small businesses in the informal sector have been adopted into the programmes of governmental and non-governmental organizations. They primarily aim at increasing the productivity and efficiency of economic activities. Investments in educational and training schemes particularly directed at improving the living conditions of the poorest levels of the population depend on the extent to which the political, economic and social prerequisites have been included. People's economic activities are linked to a variety of survival strategies, of which work on the street, in the small enterprise (micro-enterprise) or on the metropolitan garbage sites is merely one form of expression. Linked to this (despite the strong competition) are networks of solidarity within the community, political organizations and local initiatives that take on tasks the government can no longer perform.

Networks of communication and action such as these are also termed institutions of the "civil society". Within them there is networking of interpretations, patterns of action, norms and values. In addition to the established economic and governmental structures, they set the tone of the social space and actively influence the organization and improvement of living conditions. Under certain conditions the networking of such alliances can lead to significant social movements. The constituent factors of these movements are the existence of a situation that is regarded as intolerable or unfair, and the formation of a community which interprets this situation collectively and seeks to overcome it. Another important factor is a

certain continuity over time. Local, regional or (inter-)national networks may grow into large social movements, which then represent a great number of interests and oppose the prevailing conditions and structures. They have an innate tendency to generally improve living conditions.

Experience from Latin America shows that if reforms are to be successfully implemented and carried out in the field of education, it is of prime importance that they be embedded in social movements. They contain the potential, the abilities and ideas that are of great importance for promoting education and training in the informal sector but also, above and beyond this, for achieving real improvements in the quality of life of the poorest sections of the population.

One example: in October 1996 in Cape Town (RSA), under the heading *"The Poor Shall Not Live By Bread Alone"*, the conference *Movement Of The Poor* took place. Among other topics, the congress was concerned with combating crime in the Townships, employment policy for the unemployed and underemployed, the distribution of land and land laws in the interest of the poor, etc. An action plan was passed which contained the following goal: "that the inhabitants of the townships will make demands on the state and will plan coordinated action so that they themselves will design their own living (working) and residential areas in keeping with human dignity and will thus develop their own quality of life - including democratic structures, education and health care" (Mergner, G., in: Foitzik/Marvakis(Ed.), Hamburg 1997). People who actively participate in such forms of communication and action have quite specific ideas of their needs and of how to translate these ideas into action. They develop their own analysis and reflection on the political, social and economic conditions and ways of solving their problems, which contain detailed action plans. It is against this background in particular that it is so important to incorporate such people into the planning and development of educational measures and build on these existing structures.

Contact person: Claudia Lohrenscheit

Conclusions and Demands

Various approaches to the design of vocationally oriented adult education have been worked out in this contribution. They all discuss the general conditions, content and methods that are especially important in the successful and effective design of educational and training measures in the informal sector of countries in the South. To summarize, the following conclusions and demands may be drawn from the previously mentioned comments:

- The existing systems and institutions of adult education should undergo diversification and must be opened to those who work in the informal sector. This applies both to the selection of learning content and to the design of learning processes, for example in introducing experience-related learning and promoting the acquisition of general competencies.

- Effort should be concentrated on constructing bridges between formal and non-formal education. In the formal sector there is a need to alter the forms of learning and the learning content in such a way that persons in the informal sector will be addressed to by such programmes and motivated to take part. For the non-formal education sector this approach means that the results of learning should be more strongly subjected to a process of certification. In the long term a system of equality should be enforced since this is the only way that promises success in achieving "Education For All" .

- Emancipatory adult education must link the demand for upgrading competence in the mother tongue with the demand for the most appropriate means - in terms of didactics and methodology - of teaching one of the global languages of communication.

- To ensure that educational and training programmes for adults in the informal sector are successfully implemented, cooperation with existing networks must be sought. The action plans, ideas and visions that they have developed should be incorporated into educational measures from the very onset of the planning stage.

- Vocational and technical education should promote the co-operation with self-help organizations of micro-enterprises in the informal sector. They should support the participation of groups in political decision making, increase negotiating and bargaining position of disadvantaged sections and strengthen existing group orientation.

- Specific forms of adult training must promote the practice of economic solidarity and the management of self-help organizations. Adult training should promote communication skills, knowledge of rules and possibilities of action among micro-entrepreneurs to demand the support of the official institutions.

- Consideration must be given to traditional and informal methods of acquiring vocational competence when designing educational measures for the informal sector. Linking small business development programmes with non-formal offers of training for apprentices and their instructors is an essential requirement. This will enable competence to be extended and the traditional forms of training to be improved.

- The economic unity of household and enterprise must be taken into account in designing development programmes and educational measures. Selected instruction in the basics of business management, which is adapted to the needs of the informal sector can help to substantially improve the ability of small enterprises to withstand crises.

- Educational programmes in the informal sector should help persons and groups from the informal sector to become aware of their existing competencies and to put these to use in their daily routine. Programmes of basic and further education should be designed to encourage motivation among adults, make them become active, implement their own ideas and seize the initiative themselves.

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